

## Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 NEA-10

IO-14 CU-04 SCS-03 AID-20 CCO-00 FBO-01 PM-07 H-03

INR-10 L-03 NIC-01 NSC-10 SPC-03 OC-06 OPR-02 PA-04

USSS-00 RSC-01 PRS-01 SCA-01 A-01 OMB-01 SS-20 SY-10

DODE-00 DRC-01 /152 W

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O P 151402Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7421

INFO CINCPAC

AMEMBASSY SAIGON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE PRIORITY

AMCONSUL UDORN PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CHIANG MAI PRIORITY

AMCONSUL SONGKHLA

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BANGKOK 16106

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINS, PINT, TH

SUBJECT: THAILAND GOVERNMENT CRISIS

1. TODAY BANGKOK PRESENTS PICTURE OF RELATIVE CALM AND QUIET  
ALTHOUGH SOME INTERPRET IT TO BE THE CALM BEFORE THE  
STORM. SCATTERED AND SPORADIC VIOLENCE, SUCH AS BURNING  
MINOR POLICE POSTS CONTINUES TO BE REPORTED. WHILE MUCH OF  
IT IS SMALL SCALE THERE HAVE BEEN SOME SERIOUS INCIDENTS,  
MOST NOTABLY THE SIEGE OF THE METROPOLITAN POLICE HEADQUARTERS.

2. THE NATIONAL STUDENT CENTER AND STUDENTS GENERALLY  
THROUGHOUT BANGKOK APPEAR TO HAVE FINISHED WITH DEMONSTRATIONS  
AND VIOLENCE AND THEY HAVE ACCEPTED THE GOVERNMENT'S  
CONCESSIONS AND THE APPOINTMENT OF A NEW GOVERNMENT UNDER

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JUDGE SANYA THAMMASAK. ON THE OTHER HAND SMALL MILITANT

GROUPS WITH IMPORTANT NON-STUDENT PARTICIPATION APPEAR TO BE SEEKING OUT TARGETS WHICH REPRESENT THE ESTABLISHMENT AND ALSO ARTICULATING DEMANDS AIMED MOSTLY AT THE EXPULSION OF PRAPHAT, NARONG AND THANOM. THUS FAR OUR INFORMATION IS SKIMPY BUT REPORTS VARIOUSLY IDENTIFY THE MOVING FORCES OF THESE GROUPS AS INTELLECTUALS, PROFESSORS, COMMUNIST PARTY MEMBERS; THEIR RANK AND FILE MAY INCLUDE SAMLOR DRIVERS, WORKERS, THUGS, ETC. ONE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN THIS COMPLEX IDENTIFIES ITSELF AS THE "REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL."

3. THE REMARKABLE AND UNNERVING CIRCUMSTANCE TODAY IS THE ALMOST TOTAL ABDICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT. ALL GOVERNMENT OFFICES ARE CLOSED FOR THREE DAYS. POLICE ARE NOWHERE TO BE SEEN AND WE UNDERSTAND THAT THEY, AS ONE OF THE PRIME TARGETS, HAVE BEEN TOLD THAT NO RESERVES ARE AVAILABLE AND THEIR TASK IS TO PROTECT THEIR OWN PREMISES. TRAFFIC THEREFORE FUNCTIONS AS IT CAN WITHOUT POLICE DIRECTION AND STUDENT VOLUNTEERS HAVE FILLED IN IN SOME PLACES. THE MILITARY LIKewise APPEAR TO HAVE LARGELY WASHED THEIR HANDS OF THE SITUATION ALTHOUGH IT IS PRESUMED THEY ARE PREPARED TO DEFEND THEIR OWN INSTALLATIONS.

4. THE FRAGILE NEW GOVERNMENT OF JUDGE SANYA SO FAR CONSISTS ONLY OF SANYA HIMSELF, CURRENTLY SET UP IN THE KING'S PALACE, AND FACING AN UNCERTAIN FUTURE. I TALKED BRIEFLY WITH THE PRIME MINISTER THIS MORNING ON THE TELEPHONE, OFFERING ASSISTANCE AND ELICITING HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE SITUATION. HE OBVIOUSLY FELT UNABLE TO SAY MUCH BUT GAVE ME A QUALIFIED AFFIRMATIVE REPLY WHEN I ASKED WHETHER HE WAS GETTING THE REQUISITE SUPPORT FROM THE SECURITY FORCES (WITHOUT WHOM IT IS HARD TO SEE HOW ORDER CAN BE RESTORED). WHILE THE POLICE APPEAR TO BE IN A STATE OF NEAR PARALYSIS, KRIS SIVARA APPEARS TO BE WORKING WITH SANYA AND THUS PROVIDES A LINK WITH THE RTA.

5. AS NOTED, THE PRIME TARGET OF THE STUDENTS AND EVEN MORE OF THE MILITANTS IS PRAPHAT AND IT HAS BEEN HARD TO SEE ANY LASTING RESOLUTION BEING ACHIEVED WITH PRAPHAT CONTINUING TO PLAY ANY SIGNIFICANT ROLE. COLONEL NARONG RUNS PRAPHAT A CLOSE SECOND. MARSHAL THANOM,  
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INITIALLY NOT MUCH ATTACKED, NOW TENDS TO BE LUMPED WITH THE TWO SINCE YESTERDAY'S KILLINGS. AT 1830 HOURS THAI RADIO CONFIRMED THAT ALL THREE HAVE LEFT THE COUNTRY. THIS SHOULD GREATLY IMPROVE THE PROSPECTS OF SANYA'S GOVERNMENT'S HOLDING POPULAR SUPPORT, ENLISTING SUPPORT OF THE SECURITY FORCES AND RESTORING ORDER.

6. THROUGHOUT LAST WEEK'S DEMONSTRATIONS THERE WAS ONLY

LIMITED REFERENCE TO AMERICANS OR THE US. UNHAPPILY  
NOW WE BEGIN TO HEAR MORE SPECIFIC DEMANDS THAT THE US  
MILITARY LEAVE THAILAND AND ACCUSATIONS THAT IT WAS  
ONLY US SUPPORT FOR THE MILITARY LEADERS WHICH ENABLED  
THEM TO HOLD SWAY FOR SO LONG. THIS MAY GROW.

7. A MAJOR COMPLICATION IS THE ALMOST TOTAL INACCESSIBILITY  
OF THE GREAT MAJORITY OF PEOPLE, GOVERNMENTAL AND OTHERS,  
WHO ARE CUSTOMARILY OUR PRIME SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND  
CHANNELS FOR WHATEVER INFLUENCE WE MAY WISH TO BRING TO  
BEAR. I HAD BEEN IN THE MIDST OF FAREWELL CALLS, VIRTUALLY  
ALL OF WHICH HAVE NOW BEEN CANCELLED. SATURDAY, IRONICALLY,  
I WAS TO MEET WITH JUDGE SANYA AND OUR LIMITED TELEPHONE CON-  
VERSATION THIS MORNING MAY BE ALL THAT I WILL HAVE BEFORE DE-  
PARTURE. I HAVE BEEN GRANTED A FAREWELL AUDIENCE BY HIS MAJESTY  
THURSDAY MORNING AND HOPE VERY MUCH THAT THAT WILL STAND.  
I DID REACH MARSHAL DAWEE THIS EVENING BUT LEARNED LITTLE.

8. UNDOUBTEDLY PEOPLE WHO KNOW THAILAND ARE ASKING HOW  
COULD IT HAPPEN HERE? YESTERDAY'S KILLING AND VIOLENCE  
IS VERY UN-THAI BUT A REVIEW OF EVENTS OVER THE LAST  
SEVERAL YEARS, FULLER ACCOUNTS OF WHICH ARE AVAILABLE  
FROM THIS MISSION'S REPORTING, DO REVEAL AN  
UNHAPPY EVOLUTION WHICH PROBABLY STARTED IN THE NATIONAL  
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL'S NOVEMBER 17, 1971 DISSOLVING OF THE  
PARLIAMENT AND ABOLITION OF THE CONSTITUTION AND CABINET.  
PRIOR TO THAT THAILAND HAD LIVED UNDER MANY YEARS OF  
MILITARY RULE BUT ALWAYS WITH A CONSTITUTION IN SIGHT.  
IN 1969 THE CONSTITUTION, ELECTIONS, ETC. WERE AT LAST  
REALIZED. THIS WAS A THAILAND UNLIKE THE EARLIER  
DECADES, NOW THE INFORMED PUBLIC WAS LOOKING FOR BOTH  
BETTER AND MORE EFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT AND ALSO SOME  
KIND OF REPRESENTATION AND THE ORDER AND PROTECTION  
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PROVIDED BY A CONSTITUTION TO HAVE THIS ALL THROWN  
OUT IN 1971 QUITE ARBITRARILY, WHILE IT PROVOKED NOT  
MUCH OVERT REACTION AT THE TIME, HAS HAD ITS MOUNTING  
CNSEQUENCES, MOST NOTABLE IN THE STUDENT DEMANDS FOR  
EARLY ENACTMENT OF A NEW CONSTITUTION LAST JUNE.

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00 CU-04

SCS-03 AID-20 CCO-00 FBO-01 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

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O P 151402Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY BANGKOK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7422

INFO CINCPAC

AMEBASSY SAIGON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PHNOM PENH PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PRIORITY

AMCONSUL UDORN PRIORITY

AMCONSUL CHIANG MAI PRIORITY

AMCONSUL SONGKHLA

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9. ANOTHER STUDENT TARGET LAST SUMMER WAS THE US MILITARY PRESENCE IN THAILAND, A NATURAL FOCUS FOR NATIONALIST-MINDED YOUNG LIBERALS, PARTICULARLY GIVEN THEIR TENDENCY TO FEEL THAT US SUPPORT IS AT LEAST PARTLY RESPONSIBLE FOR CONTINUED RULE BY THE MILITARY LEADERSHIP. FORTUNATELY THIS GROWING ISSUE WAS SOMEWHAT STERILIZED BY OUR MODEST REDUCTION OF LATE AUGUST AND SEPTEMBER AND THEREFORE UNTIL JUST ABOUT NOW WE HAVE NOT BEEN A TARGET OF THE CURRENT MOUNTING AGITATION.

10. GOVERNMENT LEADERS AND PARTICULARLY PRAPHAT WERE AWARE OF AND FEARED MOUNTING STUDENT PRESSURE FOR EARLY ENACTMENT OF A CONSTITUTION, AND THE IMMEDIATE CAUSE OF THE CURRENT CRISIS WAS THEIR PRECLUSIVE ACTION IN DETAINING 13 WHOM THEY PARTICULARLY IDENTIFIED WITH THE PLANS FOR MILITANT STUDENT ACTIONS LATER THIS YEAR. THE CON-  
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SEQUENCE OF THESE ARRESTS ARE WELL KNOWN AND UNFORTUNATELY THEY INCLUDE THE PREDICTABLE RESULT OF PLAYING INTO THE HANDS OF EXTREMIST WHO HAVE EXPLOITED AND EXPANDED THE MODERATE STUDENTS DEMANDS THROUGH THE PRECIPITATION

YESTERDAY OF WIDESPREAD VIOLENCE RESULTING IN THE RESIGNATION OF THANOM'S GOVERNMENT.

11. IF PRIME MINISTER SANYA RECEIVES THE LOYAL COOPERATION FROM THAILAND'S SECURITY FORCES IT SHOULD BE POSSIBLE TO RESTORE ORDER FAIRLY PROMPTLY AND GET ON WITH THE BUSINESS OF APPOINTING A FULL NEW GOVERNMENT AND DEVELOPING A NEW PROGRAM. MY EXPECTATION IS THAT SUCH A GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ONE LARGELY OF TECHNICIANS WITH A PRIMARILY CARETAKER ROLE PENDING ENACTMENT OF THE CONSTITUTION AND ELECTIONS SIX MONTHS HENCE. SUCH A GOVERNMENT WOULD PROBABLY CONTINUE TO PRESS US FOR A DISCUSSION OF MILITARY REDUCTIONS BUT WOULD NOT BE HOSTILE TO OUR CONTINUED PRESENCE AT SOME LEVEL OR SEEK TO UNDERMINE THE SUBSTANTIAL EXISTING THAI-US COOPERATION. THIS MAY NEED REASSESSMENT IF, AS RUMORED, THANAT IS APPOINTED FOREIGN MINISTER. THE QUESTION REMAINS HOWEVER WHETHER THE FORMER MILITARY LEADERSHIP, ACCUSTOMED TO POWER AND ALL ITS PERKS AND ALSO SINCERELY CONCERNED ABOUT THAILAND'S SECURITY, WOULD ACCEPT BEING EXCLUDED FROM THE TOP COUNCILS OR AT BEST SHARING POWER IN AN UNEASY RELATIONSHIP WITH OFTEN UNCONGENIAL CIVILIANS. PRAPHAT'S DEPARTURE, HOWEVER, MAKES SUCH ACCEPTANCE MORE PROBABLE.

12. IF THE POLICE AND THE MILITARY, CONTINUE TO ABDICATE THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES THE SANYA GOVERNMENT WILL FALTER AND COULD EVEN COLLAPSE, MAKING WAY FOR A RADICAL LEADERSHIP IN WHICH THE EXTREMISTS NOW CONTINUING THE DISTURBANCES WOULD PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE, EVEN THOUGH THEY WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY PUT FORWARD MORE RESPECTABLE FIGURES AS LEADERS. SUCH AN EVENTUALITY HOWEVER SEEMS FAIRLY UNTHINKABLE IN THAILAND TODAY AND IF IT REALLY THREATENS I WOULD EXPECT THE POLICE AND MILITARY TO MOVE IN AND TAKE OVER BY FORCE. THIS WOULD INDEED BE A BLOODY CONTEST IN WHICH MODERATES WOULD BE PUSHED ASIDE AND THE RESULTING MILITARY RULE MIGHT WELL BE WITHOUT MANY BENIGN CHARACTERISTICS IT EXHIBITED IN THE PAST.

13. IF SANYA GOES, THEN A NEW AND SERIOUS THREAT IS POSED  
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TO THE MONARCHY WHICH AFTER ALL HAS INSTALLED THE SANYA GOVERNMENT AND GIVEN IT ITS STATUS THUS FAR. EITHER UNDER LEFTIST EXTREMISTS OR REPRESSIVE MILITARY RULE THERE WOULD BE LIMITED ROOM FOR THE PRESENT KING AND HIS GENERALLY MODERATE AND ENLIGHTENED POLICIES.

14. IT REMAINS TO SEE WHERE US INTERESTS LIE. NO ONE'S INTERESTS ARE SERVED BY THE VIOLENCE AND BLOODSHED OF YESTERDAY EXCEPT POSSIBLY THE EXTREMISTS. A SIX MONTH REASONABLY EFFECTIVE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT UNDER PRIME MINISTER SANYA IS CERTAINLY OUR FIRST CHOICE SINCE IT WOULD PERMIT THE CONTINUATION OF

GOOD RELATIONS WITH THE THAIS AND WOULD ALSO ENABLE US TO CONTINUE TO MAINTAIN IN THAILAND THE MILITARY STRENGTH WHICH WE CONSIDER ESSENTIAL TO BACK UP THE PRESENT ARRANGEMENTS WORKED OUT FOR INDOCHINA. WE MIGHT WELL HAVE TO ACCEPT SOME MODIFICATIONS IN OUR ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE US MILITARY BUT I WOULD NOT EXPECT THESE TO INTERFERE WITH THE ESSENTIAL MISSION. THIS WAY ALSO LIES THE MOST PROMISE FOR THAILAND'S EVOLUTION TO A MORE PERMANENTLY STABLE SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT.

15. THE WORST OUTCOME WOULD BE THE TAKEOVER BY RADICAL ELEMENTS, CERTAINLY INIMICAL TO THE US AND OUR INTERESTS HERE, AND ABOVE ALL THE SHORT RUN MILITARY INTERESTS. THE THIRD OUTCOME, A MILITARY TAKEOVER FROM SANYA, WOULD NOT BE DESIRABLE EVEN THOUGH IT WOULD PROBABLY ASSURE US FOR A WHILE AT LEAST THE CONTINUED USE OF THAI BASES AND FACILITIES. RECENT EVENTS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THAT THAI PEOPLE WILL NOT ACCEPT INDEFINITELY THE KIND OF MILITARY RULE THEY HAVE HAD, BENIGN AS IT HAS BEEN, ESPECIALLY AFTER YESTERDAY'S EVENTS. IF THEY HAVE NO CHOICE THEN LINES WILL BE DRAWN AND PLANS FOR OVERTHROW OF THE MILITARY WILL BE MADE FOR THE FUTURE AND THE US WILL BE CLOSELY IDENTIFIED WITH THE ENEMY RULERS BY THOSE WHO SEEK CHANGE.

16. FOR THE MOMENT WE HAVE LIMITED MEANS OF INFLUENCING EVENTS, AS LONG AS LINES OF COMMUNICATION ARE CLOSED. SOME CONTACTS HAVE BEEN MADE, HOWEVER, AND TOMORROW WE WILL CONTINUE TO PURSUE OBJECTIVE OF LINING UP THE POLICE AND MILITARY BEHIND PRIME MINISTER SANYA'S GOVERNMENT AND ACCEPTING ITS PRIMACY.

17. DEPT MAY WISH GIVE THIS MESSAGE WIDER DISTRIBUTION IN EA AREA.

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## Message Attributes

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